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ABSTRACT

This paper, on the relationship between political socialization, the educational process, and what is taught in schools, is organized into three chapters, each of which is largely devoted to reviewing the literature of a particular area. Chapter 1 focuses on the process of political socialization in general and seeks to convey the variety of factors that have been put forth as affecting political decision making processes. Topics discussed include myth and ideology, religious tradition, collective behavior, the "paradox" of schooling, social reality, and historical considerations. Chapter 2 examines various theories that consider the school to be a locus of political socialization. Among topics discussed are conflicting ideas concerning the functions and purposes of schooling, ideas that involve various sets of opposites, for example: the functional paradigm of schooling versus the radical paradigm; the corporate culture versus the civic culture; decision making versus the learning of norms; and the idea of social mobility split between two models--contest mobility which implies a fair race from the start and sponsored mobility which involves early selection of a future elite. Chapter 3 considers the literature on the actual socialization that students undergo in schools, and argues that most political socialization that occurs in schools is transmitted through the "hidden curriculum" and not the formal curriculum. A bibliography of 109 references is included. (DB)

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The Myth and Ideology
of
Political Socialization
in
American Schools

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July 16, 1991

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*"I know no safe,
depository of the
ultimate powers
of the society but the
people themselves;
and if we think
them not enlightened
enough to exercise
their control with a
wholesome discretion,
the remedy is not
to take it
from them, but to
inform their discretion
by education."*

Th. Jefferson

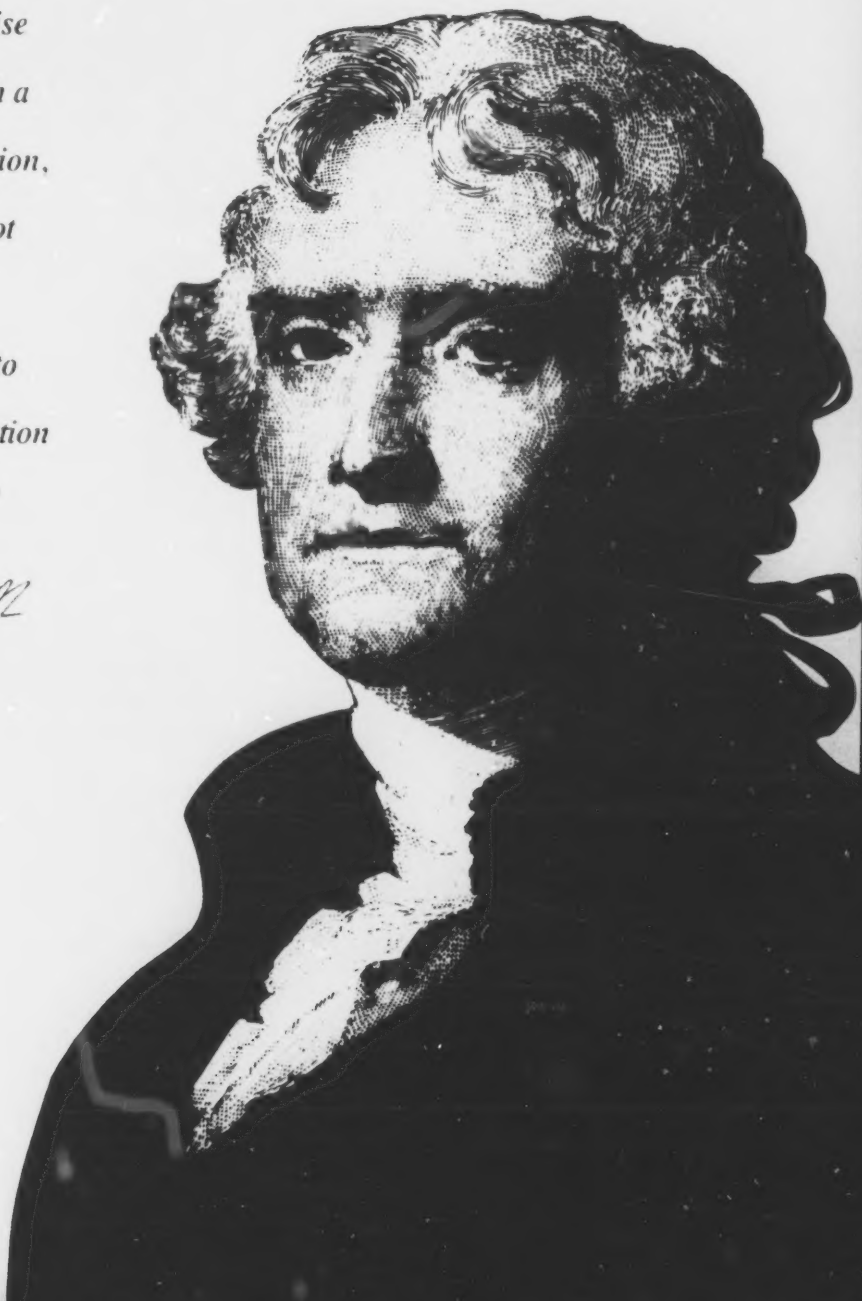


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"Unless ye believe,
 ye shall not understand."
 - St. Augustine

"The time has come," the Walrus said,
"To talk of many things."
Of shoes-and ships-and sealing wax -
Of cabbages-and kings."

- Lewis Carroll
"Through the Looking Glass"

Introduction

This is a paper about the relationship between political socialization, the educational process, and what is taught in schools. While this research represents a review of relevant literature derived from an hegemonic approach, it is also intended as an assessment of the current situation in American society and its schools.

Definition of Terms

Shafritz (1988) defines political socialization as "the transition from generation to generation of the ethos of a political system by the conscious and unconscious instilling of the values of a political culture. This is one of the most critical political processes; it starts in the home and continues in public school civics classes" (p. 419).

But most authors in defining political socialization fail to adequately explain "political" and leave the reader with a vague notion of Republicans, Democrats, and elections.

Lasswell (1960) defines politics as, "Who Gets What, When, How," and with this definition, political socialization is viewed through the broadest possible lens and can be seen as the evolving consciousness of an individual about the distribution of power and authority throughout society.

Correspondingly, an emphasis is made that these attitudes, beliefs, and ways of thinking, perceiving, and acting in the world are assumed to be present in thought, whether conscious or not. In addition the different views

presented in this paper represent, in the final analysis, equivalent aspects of the same reality.

The focus of this paper is the relationship between political socialization and what is taught in schools, but it is a major contention that most political socialization that occurs in schools is transmitted through what has come to be known as the "hidden curriculum," and not the formal curriculum of civics and American Government classes. This will be dealt with in more detail in Parts II and III.

Chapter I. Political Socialization and Society

The relationship between society and schooling has to a great extent been taken for granted. The idea that the school is a mirror image of society has long been recognized as a fact of life (Ziegler and Peak, 1969; Dreeban, 1968; Spring, 1978). From the Nineteenth century to the present America's democratic ideology has perpetuated the notion of "equal opportunity" for all; schools have been viewed as a means for providing such opportunities. By equal opportunity we mean that all have an equal chance to compete for any place in society, not that everyone can choose any social position (Spring, 1978). This is based on the notion that the United States was founded and operates as a meritocratic society under the principles of egalitarianism; furthermore, an individual's life is viewed as a social race in which all members of society begin at the same starting line but finish the race in a different order through their own merit. What

is taken for granted is that all participants of the race begin at the same starting line and that the race is fair (Hurn, 1977).

Myth and Ideology

In discussing ideologies, Gyorgy and Blackwood (1967) cite Ebenstein's classification of capitalism as an economic system with democracy viewed not only as closely related, but also as its political counterpart. Glatthorn (1987) maintains that schools and the personnel that operate them are intensely influenced by the values and beliefs of the larger society; as such, schools and their curriculums perpetuate this ideology of the larger society which saturates every aspect of schooling: schools in the United States compulsively reflect the ideology of democratic capitalism. As such, it is a pervading theme of this paper that the American ideology of democratic capitalism sustains the myth of equal opportunity in schools.

Generally speaking, a nation has a singular ideology while there exists an elaborate framework of myths developed, according to Hutchison (1957), to secure allegiance to governmental authority. Roelofs (1976, p. 4) identifies a myth as a nationally shared framework of political consciousness. Myths illuminate society's awareness of itself and its history; myths represent a people's legend and hope, and, finally myths sustain government's legitimacy. Ideology,

on the other hand, is a narrower and more practical term; it is the framework of political consciousness, the set of ideas by which a people, or at least its dominant and governing element, organizes itself for political action. Myth gives meaning to national existence and endeavor; ideology gives patterns for political action. Among the myths perpetuated by the American people are "honesty and integrity" as personified by George Washington's confession of chopping down the cherry tree, Betsy Ross' design and construction of the Stars and Stripes, "E Pluribus Unum," "In God We Trust," liberty, equality, and the vision of a classless society. The importance of myth in perpetuating the status quo cannot be underestimated.

Abcarian (1973) makes the important point that one of the most effective, efficient, and enduring means of controlling the behavior of individuals is to make them believe in the importance of compliance, to socialize them to accept a myth or system of beliefs that justifies the established elite as normal and necessary.

Social Classes

A recent article by Gelernter (1990) focuses on the concept of class in American society. After accepting the myth of a classless society for hundreds of years, the concepts of class and class consciousness are very much alive in American society. There is now widespread agreement among sociologists that Americans are very class conscious and have

evolved elaborate systems to reinforce and perpetuate this awareness. But, at the very same time, it is considered extremely bad form to admit to being class conscious. In addition, class has become a much more complex combination of elements than in years past. If the lines separating classes have become vague, class consciousness, itself, has become much stronger; thus, the confusion created by the uncertainties, gives Americans their "can do" optimism but in other ways leads to a great deal of inequity and unfairness. America is a country where nobody is born in a cast-in-iron social class; likewise, we have no history of hereditary classes. But sociologist Paul Burstein points out that recent studies show that it is no easier to get ahead here than in Europe, where there has been a history and well-entrenched tradition of hereditary classes. Both America and Europe have similar general processes: being born into money with well-educated parents, living in the right neighborhood, and attending the best schools bestows definite advantages. In addition, Seattle University sociologist Charles Lawrence argues quite effectively that if people fail to perceive the "stacked deck," it makes people on the lower rungs unfairly blame themselves for not getting ahead, when in fact it is very difficult to do so. Consequently, people can be blinded to the tremendous concentrations of power we have at the top and the ways in which the political and educational "system" may be weighted against them and to how they might change it.

Class boundaries, according to Ember and Ember (1973) even though they are vague, have been established by custom and tradition which may also be reinforced by laws. Many of America's laws deal with the protection of property and tend to favor class at the upper end of the social class scale. We have often maintained that America's cherished "freedoms" are, for the most part, economic in nature and benefit the monied classes more than others. The poor and less-fortunate, in contrast, appear to be perennial loses in our legal system (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Ricci, 1971). In the same light, many studies have documented that students from low-income and disadvantaged backgrounds are more likely to be the victims of corporal punishment in American schools (Mauer, 1977; Hyman & Wise, 1979). Likewise, based on research described by Levine and Havighurst (1989) schools can be distinguished according to the types of students they enroll and the kinds of discipline they stress based on socio-economic factors.

Dahrendorf (1959) reports that the concept of class began with the Industrial Revolution; prior to that period society was under a feudal system and individuals were "ranked." Gradually, capital and property became transformed from a symbol of rank to an instrument of power, and society was characterized by the emergence of a new social order. Besides the burgeoning middle-classes, two new growing strata evolved during the economic transformations of society - that of entrepreneurs and workers. These industrialist capitalists

and laborers had no natural or traditional unity; they had to stabilize and create their own traditions. For these strata, bare of all traditions, and differentiated by external and material criteria, the concept of "class" was first used. (It is significant to note that in conversational German the word "class" still denotes the two strata: entrepreneurs and workers; other levels are called "estates").

The American Religious Tradition

The American religious tradition is an important factor influencing American society. Its resulting impact on education and schooling, and thus its effect on the political socialization of students is striking.

Democratic capitalism owes much of its momentum to religion, specifically, Protestant Calvinism (Weber, 1958). One of the fundamental results of the Protestant Reformation was the elimination of religious influences from Protestant morality. Catholicism traditionally viewed labor in terms of its religious value, and capitalism appeared suspiciously antagonistic to the universal sanction of charity (Parsons, 1937). Indeed, Bell (1978) draws upon the writings of Thomas Aquinas who pointed out that the desire for money knows no limits - this is why the Catholic Church placed restrictions on usury and the free setting of prices. One of the early reformers of the Christian church, John Calvin - a Frenchman - in a manner unequaled by any other reformer emphasized in the

16th Century that the main point of Christian faith is not the theoretical knowledge of God, but unconditional obedience to the will of God, ethical deeds, discipline, and the fulfillment of duty. So Calvin redirected ethics from the individual to the social side, not by personal sanctification and asceticism, but by hard work and the moderate usage of the goods of this world (Weber, 1958).

Calvin's ethics were popular, and the men he influenced traveled far to spread his words which became religious dogmas for the radical religious groups of the Reformation. In the last decade of the 16th century, John Calvin's influence reached its peak among the Puritans of England as well as the Presbyterians of Northern Britain, the Reformed of Germany, Moravians and Methodists; they all adopted the doctrines of Calvin in their religious creeds. The Calvinist religious philosophy was naturally transplanted to the New World during the early colonization of North America by the various countries of Europe. Moreover, early colonization of America took place during the Reformation, the people who first came were motivated by the new commercial and social morality of the numerous Protestant religious groups incorporating Calvinism in their social doctrines (Butts, 1947).

The success of Puritanism meant a triumph of the new commercial morality; capitalists had established their right to secure a return for their money. The result was an immense development of economic freedom. Weber deduced that

capitalism with its laissez faire doctrine and its autonomous conception of economic behavior derived its origin from the Protestant ethic and especially Puritan sources. The insight of Calvin was not an illusion; the relationship between Protestantism and capitalism is not accidental but organic and intrinsically essential (Demant, 1949).

According to Wirsing (1972) the Protestant work ethic is a cherished principle in the ideological core of American life; its effects permeate every aspect of America's institutions. Consequently, its impact on education and schooling should not be underestimated.

The Emergence of a New Nation

The emergence of a new nation - the United States of America - occurred simultaneously with the Industrial Revolution. A new order was created: a large affluent middle-class flanked by a wealthy, propertied upper class on the one side and an underclass comprised of the marginal members of society on the other. Ricci (1971) maintained that recent scholarship tends to speak of America as a fundamentally Liberal society. In a larger historical context, though, the term "Liberal" is best reserved for the great political ideas and policies formulated by the middle classes of the Western world since the 17th and 18th centuries. If Liberalism is defined this way, Conservatism can be seen by contrast to have embodied mainly the thoughts and programs of the Western aristocracy and upper-classes in

this same period, and Socialism may be viewed as an ideology and set of social propositions advanced on behalf of the Western working class. Therefore to summarize in a simplistic way, Liberalism is the ideology of the middle-class; Conservatism is the ideology of the upper class; and Socialism is the ideology of the lower-class (Ricci, 1971).

Domhoff (1967) identifies the "governing class" - the "power elite" - as the social upper-class which owns a disproportionate amount of the country's wealth, receives a disproportionate amount of the country's yearly income, and contributes a disproportionate number of its members to controlling institutions and decision-making groups of the country. This governing class controls the direction and impact of public policy through methods utilizing dominance and the exercise of power - the ability to act - from positions of authority. Therefore, while America is generally viewed as a Liberal society, much of this vision is a "myth"; in reality, an ideology of conservatism, serving the interests of the upper-classes, permeates the political fabric of the country.

The Iron Law of Oligarchy

Shortly after the turn of the century Robert Michels, a French sociologist suggested that the presence of elites is inevitable, but regardless of how democratic an organization is a small group of leaders - an oligarchy - always emerges,

gains power, and uses their control over the organization's resources to reward supporters and punish enemies. Michels called this process the "Iron Law of Oligarchy" (Abcarian, 1973; Ricci, 1971). Domhoff described the decision-making process as the influence of an interlocking directorate of corporate, political, and military leaders operating through foundations, associations, boards, universities, and the mass-media. In addition, members of the upper-class play a predominant role in determining the framework within which decisions or important issues are reached by controlling and influencing every major opinion molding institution in the country. Another important point to be made, according to Dye and Ziegler (1973), is that elites and not the masses govern America. Furthermore, since all organizations tend to be governed by a small majority of their membership (according to Michel's "Iron Law of Oligarchy") these minorities constitute a national elite sharing a basic consensus about defending the existing system and maintaining the status-quo; therefore, leaders rather than followers make the most important political decisions, and this constitutes the "irony of democracy" (Abcarian, 1973). In the same light, Graham Wallas, a professor of politics at the London School of Economics and a student of Freud argued that politics and decision-making is not necessarily based on reason but rather is a reflection of men's instincts. People are motivated by the drives that reside in the Freudian id; therefore,

political behavior is much more a matter of impulsive action than thoughtful premeditation. Furthermore, political discourse is not designed to encourage individuals to think deeply, clearly, and calmly. Instead, it is composed of what Wallas called "entities." Terms such as "Operation Desert Shield," "Affirmative Action," "law and order," "freedom of speech," "with liberty and justice for all," and "equal opportunity" are actually entities or myths. Weighted by prejudice, passion, and preconception, these myths impede reason rather than permit it to function (Ricci, 1971).

Collective Behavior

Another factor in the decision-making process attacks the Liberal tenet of rational behavior with a collective, premeditated purpose. Gustave Le Bon, a French student of collective behavior at the turn of the century, focused on the changes that individuals make when they form a group. Under certain circumstances, a group of individuals presents new characteristics that are very different from those of the individuals composing it. We have all experienced this phenomenon as teachers with classes of students. The attitudes and sentiments of persons in the group move in the same direction, and their conscious personalities disappear. A collective mind is formed and is subjected to the "law of the mental unity of crowds" (Le Bon, 1960, pp 23-24). What actually takes place is a combination of personalities followed by the creation of new characteristics.

Unfortunately, these new characteristics are generally undesirable, since they are dominated by group member's unreasoning instincts.

Correspondingly, because education is so central to American society, these political, social, and economic forces that shape society as a whole have been closely reflected in the schools. From elementary schools to state universities, educational institutions reflect the community of which they are a part; consequently, they can never get too far ahead of it (Fiske, 1975). Notwithstanding the myth of "equal opportunity" and the like, Ember and Ember (1973) remind us that in reality, American society is an excellent example of a relatively open class structure which gradually grew more closed. When the country ran out of land, a pattern was established that has become typical of industrial countries: the economy shifted from an agricultural base to an industrial base; the population shifted from rural to urban; and positions in the top ranks of business and government were increasingly filled by sons of the elite. Correspondingly, Hurn's (1978) argument that the existence of genuine equality depends on whether a society is open or closed supports a major theme of this paper: equal opportunity in American schools exists largely as "myth."

The Paradox of Schooling

Fisher (1989) identifies an interesting paradox of schooling. On the one hand, education is perceived as an institution that provides equality of opportunity; on the other hand, though, there is a commonly held notion that schooling should prepare students for a future within the acceptable boundaries of the present society. This means that schools will reproduce present inequality in terms of wealth, status, and social class. The myth is perpetuated as long as parents believe that their children have a chance of getting ahead; as such, the reality of stratification, and of unequal access and service, is masked. When failure occurs, the causes are internalized to the individual; neutral institutions cannot be held accountable.

The Transmission of Myths

Coles (1986) pondered the transmission of policies from one generation to the next. How does a nation sustain itself over time so that policies adopted by one government with or without the consent of various members of society become policies believed in and accepted with full faith and conviction by succeeding generations? According to the author, a "sustained conviction" must be present and transmitted from generation to generation. This conviction is nurtured through an elaborate framework of myths and transmitted by a variety of means such as formal and informal education and the mass media. Depending on the observer's

point of reference, such cultural indoctrination can be viewed as philosophy or propaganda. Consider, for example, the elaborate mechanisms, subtle or not, employed in Nazi Germany to convince the German people of the righteousness of their aggression in the World.

Basil Bernstein (1977) detailed the methods in which society - the social order - is reproduced in the consciousness of each individual by the educational system. The interdependent processes of curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation transmit and implant the language of society into the individual. Also, there is widespread agreement regarding the power of schooling to affect people's lives; moreover, education is a political process and schooling is clearly related to the distribution of power in society (Bowles & Gintis, 1976).

Social Reality

Is our view of social reality distorted? Karl Mannheim (1950) who was engaged in sociological work developed a concept he called, "the study of knowledge." It theorized that ideas emerge and develop in response to and are determined by the socio-historical situation in which intellectual skill groups find themselves. As such, social determination reaches into the most intimate recesses of people's minds; the basic categories that inform one's views of social reality are related to the thinker's basic political

perspective and group identification; a person's socio-historical background conditions that person's thoughts.

Thinking about social reality includes observing something, and bringing supporting facts into perspective. By doing so, people may overlook or bypass other things. Mannheim called social thought "perspectivist" thinking - it derives from a standpoint located in the historical and social context of the individual. Consequently, thinkers of comparable rank and stature may view the identical situation and reach apparently opposite conclusions from the divergent perspectives they hold.

The truth, according to Mannheim, can be determined by assessing the angle of vision in which social reality presents itself to persons in different social and historical situations. Mannheim maintained that social thought manifests itself in social and intellectual competition. Furthermore, ideologies are outmoded ways of thinking and myths represent utopian thought. Both fail to meet social reality adequately. Ideologies misrepresent reality through the use of obsolete concepts while myths project the hope but not the reality of the disadvantaged for the "good" society.

Accordingly, contemporary social thought is a confusion of tongues and represents a struggle of political ideologies and myths which drown rationally sober discussion and disrupt the stability of society itself. Consequently, Mannheim believed that social breakdown was unavoidable.

Mannheim's dismal prophesy was made over forty years ago. Over sixty years ago, Dewey (1916) illuminated the obvious contradictions between our institutions and practice on the one hand, and our creeds and theories on the other. Americans lived he pointed out, as if economic forces determined the growth and decay of institutions and settle the fate of individuals. Worth was measured by the ability to hold one's own or to get ahead in a competitive pecuniary race. In addition, Americans tended to legalize and idealize the status quo, instead of seriously asking how to employ the means at their disposal to form an equitable and stable society. This would require the use of "reason" in political decision making, a process that appears to be absent from public policy due, in large, to "myth" which blocks or impedes reasoning power (Roeloffs, 1976; Ricci, 1971).

Limited Political Decision-Making

Weissberg (1974) suggests that the limited nature of political decision-making emphasizes the prejudices in any given status quo. Any type of public policy bestows advantages on some people more than others. Those who benefit the most are not likely to encourage serious discussions of solutions or radical alternatives. Such persons generally have great political influence; most likely they will insist that what exists is natural, appropriate, and difficult to

change without great risk. Moreover, the majority of citizens accept most of the status quo without question or consideration of possible alternatives because it is viewed as politically natural and beyond serious change.

Dangers to Democracy

Almost one hundred years before Dewey warned Americans about the state of society, Alexis de Tocqueville (1956) described the dangers to democracy and the new American nation. He observed a tendency of democratic nations to centralize their governments. Accordingly, societies possess an intrinsic love of well-being and a dread of disturbance; therefore, they look to the state for support. Governments, then, naturally enlarge themselves, and the legitimate "establishment" strengthens its existence, and preserves the status quo. While life in a democracy is animated, everything and everybody move in the same direction, and as Tocqueville pointed out, a recurrence of the same passion becomes increasingly monotonous. Individuals, then, seek to escape the monotony and boredom by retreating into a kind of self-imposed exile; the multitudes of individuals all equal and alike, alienated from truth and reality in their self-imposed exiles, retreat even further as the powers above them watch over their fate - he described this power as "absolute, regular, provident, and mild;" it does not seek to prepare people for adulthood, but keeps them in perpetual childhood,

and gradually robs them of all their uses. Furthermore, the ruling class gradually extends its power over the whole community by means of a network of small complicated rules, minute and uniform - a "gentle process" designed to stupify and extinguish a person's willpower and awareness of reality.

The Great Seal of the United States

Tocqueville made his striking observations during a nine-month visit barely fifty years after the birth of the new nation. The Founders possessed the determination to inform the world of the principles and ideals of America through written and spoken word, action and deed, and myth and symbol. Joseph Campbell in his interview with Bill Moyers (1988) talked about the Great Seal of the United States, an engraving of which can be seen on the United States one-dollar bill (a striking facsimile can be viewed on the wall of the Morgantown United States Post Office on High Street). The most familiar side (Figure 1) pictures an eagle with a laurel leaf held in one foot symbolizing peace and a bunch of arrows in the other foot symbolizing strength and war. The eagle is looking in the direction of the laurel leaf signifying the new nation's quest for peaceful resolution. In addition, the eagle possesses nine feathers in its tail; nine is the number of the descent of the divine power in the world; as such, when the Angelus rings, it rings nine times. Also, over the eagle's head are thirteen stars arranged in the form of the Star of David which was originally known as Solomon's Seal. There are



Figure 1



Figure 2

a number of interrelated mythological, mathematical, cosmological, psychological, and sociological interpretations of this particular symbol, one of which involves the dot or star at the center of the arrangement representing the creative nucleus out of which the universe and all things have come - the center of energy.

On the reverse side (Figure 2) is pictured a pyramid, a symbol of stability with the four sides representing the four points of a compass. At the apex of the pyramid, detached from the sides as if to transcend the individual points of view is the eye of reason. This was very important to the new nation - the founders believed that all people are capable of reason. This faith in people's capacity for reason is a fundamental principle of democracy; correspondingly, the United States was the first nation in the world that was established on the basis of reason instead of simply warfare - this explains the Latin inscription, "Novus Ordo Seclorum" which means, "A new order of the world." The inscription above the pyramid, "Annuit Coeptis" translates into, "He has smiled on our accomplishments." Another well-known inscription, "In God We Trust," illustrates the Founders' profound belief in the God of reason and an awareness that the mind cleared of all its fallibilities is sufficiently capable of the knowledge of God. Thus, all people in the world are capable because all people in the world are capable of reason (Campbell, 1988). It is important to make a crucial

distinction at this point. The God of the Founders was not Calvin's God of original sin but a God of love, understanding, and reason.

Historical Considerations

The Great Seal first appeared about 1780 (Hunt, 1909). Before 1776, the year of America's birth as a new nation, North America consisted of separate colonies dominated by British political rule. The period from 1607 until the American Revolution is generally referred to as the "colonial period." The three major regions, New England, the Middle Atlantic, and the South had similar educational policies regarding the basic ideas and values that governed individuals and groups. Religion held a high priority, and the family played a strong formative role in shaping ideas, values and skills (Bailyn, 1960).

The familiar family to early colonists was the patrilineal group based on the Elizabethan model gathered into a single household. Besides children, there was usually a wide range of other dependents, nieces and nephews, cousins, and except for families at the lowest rung of society, servants.

The organization of this group reflected and reinforced the general structure of social authority. Control rested with the male head to whom all others were subordinate - his sanctions were powerful and deeply rooted in the cultural soil (Bailyn, 1960).

It was these patriarchal kinship communities that shouldered most of the burden of education. The family was the primary agency for the socialization of the child - it introduced the basic forms of civilized living, shaped attitudes, formed patterns of behavior, endowed manners and morals, and generally introduced the world (Bailyn, 1960).

But the family's role was not limited to elementary socialization. Within these groups the first steps of vocational training were nurtured, and in a great many cases - especially agricultural laboring and small trades - all the vocational instruction necessary for adulthood was provided by the family. The family's role in vocational training was extended through the institution of apprenticeship - a contractual exchange of vocational training in an atmosphere of family life in exchange for absolute personal service over a specified period of time. Furthermore, the master was expected and even required by law to bring them up in good Christian cultivation.

Besides the family, the community and the church were the mechanisms by which English culture transferred itself from generation to generation.

Formal instruction in early elementary and grammar schools was highly utilitarian - its avowed purpose was the training of the individual for specific social roles. Literacy was emphasized, and Latin grammar and classical literature were practical subjects of instruction. Despite

the fact that there was a considerable amount of occupational mobility, the normal expectation was that a child would follow the careers of parents and grandparents (Bailyn, 1960).

None of the early settlers in English America contemplated changes in this structure of educational processes, but by the end of the colonial period, it had been radically transformed by the disruption and transplantation in alien soil resulting in the transformation of traditional English family life.

Parent and child alike faced the wilderness, and no one had reserves of knowledge to deal with the environment. The young, however, learned faster being more adaptable and vigorous; they came to see the New World with more familiarity. Parental prestige was humbled by involvement in menial labor which was necessary for survival. During "starving periods" families were forced to sub-divide and create smaller self-sustaining units. With material independence available to any adult white male, the patriarchal family was soon a thing of the past, although the tradition of the "male head of household" has been central to American society throughout its history and has contributed significantly to inequality among the sexes.

As the new commercial morality flourished with the technological explosion of the Industrial Revolution, masters looked upon apprentices as a badly needed source of labor, and as a result, moral indoctrination, Christian training and

instruction in literacy seemed like encumbrances on the contractual arrangement; consequently, there was a reduction in the personal non-vocational obligations that bound master and servant and a transfer of general educational functions to external agencies including public schools (Bailyn, 1960).

The role of women in education was strictly defined as that of wife and mother; their schooling was divided into two tracts. One tract was designed for the lower classes, involved basic literacy and numeracy skills, but provided little or no opportunities for advancement or upward social mobility. The other tract provided for the education of the upper classes in Latin grammar schools in preparation for entering college (Ornstein and Levine, 1989).

After the American Revolution the dual-track system endured for some time; however, the Founders and leaders of the new republic sought to create new patterns of education that were appropriate to the philosophy of the new nation. Numerous plans were suggested, but all contained the same basic principles: education should meet the needs of a self-governing policy, education should reflect the needs of a developing nation with vast frontiers, education should be useful rather than classical, and education should be American rather than European (Nasaw, 1979).

Thomas Jefferson, who probably played a part in designing the Great Seal, was a man of wide ranging interests, which embraced politics, philosophy, architecture, agriculture, and

science. Jefferson's philosophy of education assumed that the state had the responsibility to cultivate an educated and literate citizenry. He viewed formal education as a state or civic concern. As Jefferson saw it, the primary purpose of education was to promote good citizenship (Heslep, 1969).

The Founders of the Republic viewed their revolution and the kind of education needed for the new nation largely in political terms rather than academic; that is to say, they felt education was a bastion for liberty, equality, popular consent, and devotion to the public good. Both liberal and conservative citizens of the Revolutionary generation affirmed their convictions that the welfare of the Republic rested on an educated citizenry (Butts, 1978).

For the first fifty years of the new Republic, civic education stressed the assimilation of civic values and relatively neglected political knowledge. Correspondingly, there was no sincere attempt to develop participatory skills and no notice was paid to differences in student backgrounds (Butts, 1978). An important legacy of this period is rooted in the Jeffersonian ideal of American public education which holds that progress through school should be based on a student's meeting predetermined standards of excellence; as such, it is applied in elementary and secondary school grading, promotion, and tracking policies (Wirsing, 1972).

For the middle fifty years of the nineteenth century, political values instilled by schools did not change

substantially from the first fifty years. Children were inculcated with political values such as equality and patriotism, but liberty was the most preeminent. Benevolent Christian morality as well as the reward of individual effort, and obedience to legitimate authority were stressed along with middle-class virtues of hard work, honesty, and integrity (Butts, 1947).

By the close of the Nineteenth Century, the patterns of civic education had become even more passionate, and doctrines of manifest destiny, winning of the West, overseas empires, and making the world safe for democracy were instilled as proof of the United States as the superior nation of the world; loyalty was demanded in the context of "my nation, right or wrong" (Butts, 1947).

With the arrival of the 20th Century there was a widespread preoccupation with the growing impersonality of life in America caused primarily by the atomistic industrialization of the economy. Schools inculcated the values of patriotism and Americanism even more intensely, due to the large influx of immigrants from Europe. America was characterized by mass production, mass consumption, the growth of the mass media, specialization, the decline of religion - the growth of secularization, suburbanization, the growth of government, and burgeoning corporate capitalism. These trends were closely followed by feelings of rootlessness, alienation, and crises of identity (Hacker, 1972).

But the successes and optimism created by this rapid transformation were gradually replaced by radical criticism, which viewed greedy corporations, corrupt politicians, and entrenched views of racism and sexism as permeating the country's institutions. Schools were seen as teaching "middle class morality," unthinking patriotism, and a narrow technocratic vision of the world. Furthermore, the defects of schooling were seen as a reflection of the social order which demanded repression and required the perpetuation of inequality (Hurn, 1978).

The Current Crisis

We seem to be living in a self conscious age where man appears deeply troubled by the paradox of his finest achievements on the one hand and his sorry ineptitude on the other. A growing number of writers describe man as "alienated," impoverished with an indefinable sense of loss, and living in an economically atomized society. Alienated man is every man and no man. According to Slater (1976) there are three human desires deeply and uniquely frustrated by American culture: (1) the desire for community - the wish to live in trust, cooperation, and friendship with others; (2) the desire for engagement - the wish to come to grips with one's social and physical environment; and (3) the desire for dependence - the wish to share responsibility for the control of one's impulses and the direction of one's life. Slater maintains

that Americans have voluntarily created and maintain a society that increasingly frustrates and aggravates these yearnings.

Certainly, the economic sphere of life dominates life. Thus, there is an almost frantic struggle to conform to the practices of a pecuniary culture, and this has become both the source and the justification of inequality and oppression. The rapid growth of government and business coupled with the rapid industrialization of society and development of technology caught American society off guard; the country was mentally and morally unprepared for the rapid transformation of society (Dewey, 1916).

Fromm (1941) described the disintegration of man's primary ties connecting man with himself and others giving him a sense of belongingness and security. These relationships have been thwarted by forces that are beyond his control; hence, man is overwhelmed by anxiety and insecurity. Freedom and the responsibilities of freedom under these conditions becomes unbearable. Increasingly, the vocabulary of modern society is dominated by terms that characterize the crisis in modern society - alienation, estrangement, anomie, indifference, and apathy which manifest themselves in daily life as divorce, drug and alcohol abuse, crime, poverty, financial irresponsibility, racism, sexism, other personal and social deviances, and even suicide.

Although these latter symptoms of a troubled society are more or less extreme expressions of the crisis, I contend that

alienation, estrangement, apathy and the like appear as a general lack of cooperation among the members of society. This retreat from cooperation and responsibility - an "escape from freedom" - is exhibited by an individual who is said to be in society but not of it; one who feels powerless and insignificant, and, perhaps, most important, according to Dhirenzo one who cannot be expected to display any significant degree of citizenship (Ichilov, 1990).

"Any situation in which some men prevent others from engaging in the process of inquiring is one of violence. The means used are not important; to alienate men from their own decision-making is to change them into objects."

- Paulo Friere

Chapter II. Political Socialization and What is Learned in School

In Chapter I of this paper, I attempted to convey the variety of factors and perspectives that influence society's decision-making processes. Chapter II, "Political Socialization and What is Learned in School," will analyze factors that deal directly with education, schools and their curriculums, and the impact on political socialization.

Functions and Purposes of Schooling

Before the decade of the sixties, the controversy surrounding discussions of schooling did not exist for the most part. Thoughts about schooling were dominated by what has been referred to as the "functional paradigm" (Hurn, 1978). This model viewed schooling as essentially a rational device for sorting and selecting talented individuals in an increasingly complex and "expert" society that transmitted consensual values to the young. But, increasingly, widespread convictions that schools taught things that were hostile to the realization of either the intellectual or emotional growth of the child led many to believe that schools were instruments of a repressive and inhumane society. The "radical paradigm," then, became increasingly popular and viewed schools as institutions preserving the power of existing elites rather than facilitating the mobility of talents.

The Functional Paradigm

The functional paradigm has long been a part of the conventional wisdom of liberal intellectuals in western society and nourishes the elaborate framework of myth that sustains American democracy. The heart of the model contains unique elements of western society designed to illustrate the extent to which schooling serves society.

Within this model, society's occupational roles are achieved on the basis of merit rather than ascribed from parent to child. In addition, this paradigm demands that all children should have an equal opportunity for the "prize" - in this case, elite status. All children should compete on equal footing; prizes or rewards are achieved on the basis of merit; hence, the functional model views modern society as "meritocratic" - a society where ability and effort count for more than privilege and inherited status.

The functional model also views modern society as an expert society, relying on increasingly sophisticated expertise and the resulting technology for continuous economic growth. Under this paradigm, a crucial function of schools is not so much to teach useful vocational skills, but to teach people how to think and learn.

An essential ingredient of the functional paradigm views modern society as being democratic in nature, progressing towards social justice and egalitarianism. Increased levels of education not only reduce intolerance and prejudice in

society, but also inform an increasingly educated citizenry as to their responsibilities in the political process. According to Kogan (1978) education, more than any other social activity, is concerned with what ought to be rather than with what is. People become educated in order to promote changes in themselves and others, and these changes are as varied as the whole range of human desire and feeling; consequently, they may conflict with each other even within a single school or school system.

Finally, the functional paradigm asserts that the expansion of schooling takes place because there is a consensus that more schooling is a good thing and beneficial to society. It is an outcome of the breakdown of traditional arrangements for socialization of the young, the increasingly complex requirements of a new industrial society for cognitive skills, and a democratic egalitarian moral consensus within society (Hurn, 1978).

The Radical Paradigm

The radical paradigm exposes the demands and interests of elites within society; as such, it stresses the connection between schooling and the learning of docility and compliance rather than the acquisition of cognitive skills. Implicit in the radical paradigm is a view that schooling reinforces existing inequalities and produces attitudes that foster the status quo (Hurn, 1978).

According to this view, defects in schooling are a reflection of a social order demanding repression and requiring the perpetuation of inequality. Any attempt to create a more humane and liberated school will be extinguished by vested interests. New and progressive innovations may be tolerated, but fundamental changes in the social organization of schools are not possible in contemporary capitalist society. Schools, therefore, have not created a more meritocratic society; they have, however, convinced most that social selection is indeed based on merit and achievement.

The radical paradigm views the purposes of schooling as largely serving the needs of elites, stressing docility and demanding compliance with an emphasis on orthodoxy for maintenance of the status quo. In viewing American schools, Hess and Torney (1967) expressed concern about what they viewed as the excessive preoccupation on compliance with laws and authority and an under emphasis on citizen rights. The important factor in socialization is not the explicit content of political education programs but the implicit assumptions that accompany education as a whole. What is not directly taught to American school students is at least as important as what is actually taught. While schools stress the ideal norms and pleasantries of American society, the tougher, less pleasant facts of political life are mostly ignored. Such distortions of reason and rationality are viewed as indoctrination. Ziegler and Peak (1969) observed that

American schools actually might be doing a better job than schools in Russia or, say, China of grinding out loyal, compliant citizens.

Substantial and Functional Rationality

In evaluating reason and rationality, Mannheim (1940) suggested that it should be viewed as either "substantial" or "functional." Substantial rationality is viewed as the capacity for independent judgment, while functional rationality is a logical capacity for achieving a defined goal. Mannheim originally differentiated substantial from functional rationality in order to observe large scale organizations and bureaucracies in modern society. Mannheim theorized that individuals within such organizations act in accordance with complicated circumstances that require efficiency to reach the organization's goals. These circumstances also have the effect of maintaining the status quo. Therefore, there exists a complex infrastructure of customs, traditions, rules and regulations within bureaucracies designed to maintain the status quo and attain the goals of the organization. As such, Mannheim claims functional rationality prevails in modern society often at the expense of substantial rationality which becomes more and more difficult to attain due to the complexity of modern industrial society. From every field of inquiry, critics agree that the technological, commercial, and political framework of the national community is so massive and complicated that ordinary

individuals can barely understand it, much less resist its imposition of conformity on their lives (Ricci, 1971).

Socialization and Countersocialization

Engle and Ochoa (1988) asserted that the best hope for democracy rests not in the indoctrination of shaky truths or in whitewashing the problems that beset American society, but rather with the conscious cultivation of citizens who possess the facilities to make intelligent political judgments with open eyes and an awareness of democratic values related to the controversial issues of society. The "town meeting" form of democracy that characterized an agrarian society has broken down, and as a result, the citizen is not always well informed and is frequently misled by the media. Vigorous special interest groups possess inordinately more power than do ordinary citizens. The rights of individuals and minorities are unevenly protected. International affairs are not really subject to the will of the people and frequently are conducted in opposition to the interests of democracy. Furthermore, the credibility of leaders in education and of the clergy, the professions, and the press is badly compromised by the growth of a special interest morality over that of the common good.

Engle and Ochoa (1988) offer a definition of social studies education that is consistent with the true nature of citizenship in a democracy. The social studies are concerned exclusively with the education of citizens; therefore,

citizenship education ought to consist of two interrelated parts - socialization and countersocialization.

Socialization is concerned with transmitting a reasoned attitude and understanding of democratic culture and with developing the basic habits necessary to make democracy work in an unreflective manner. Engle and Ochoa see this as the center of social studies in the lower grades. Countersocialization is more appropriate at the higher grades when socialization is no longer necessary. Counter-socialization is concerned with developing the ability for independent critical thinking and with fostering individual responsibility in citizens (p. 13). The crux of countersocialization is reasoning, critical thinking, resolving social problems, and, as Mannheim maintained, correctly assessing the angle of vision in which social reality presents itself.

Corporate versus Civic Culture

Throughout the history of American democracy, there have been major incongruences between, for example, private or corporate gain on the one hand and the general welfare on the other. America has two distinct cultures: one is the private, corporate business culture that claims responsibility for investment, productivity, and economic growth; the other is the civic culture which claims responsibility for the equitable distribution of welfare among citizens, including education and other social goods. Calvin Coolidge decreed,

"The business of America is business." The government has historically tended to support the needs of business at the expense of the needs of society and individuals. Consequently, the two cultures are frequently in conflict. As such, the challenge to America's schools is to reach a reasonable accommodation between the two cultures: business and industry with its concern for economic growth and the civic with concern for individual rights and social justice. Therefore, the school's role in political socialization has a split personality.

Decisions versus Non Decisions

Engle and Ochoa stress decision making in education for democratic citizenship: on one hand, citizens must decide on the dependability of information they receive concerning complex social problems; on the other, citizens must decide how to deal with these complex social problems. As such, these tasks are critical to the effective functioning of citizens in democracy. The process of decision making has long been a favorite topic in the study of community power. Bachrach and Baratz (1962, 1963) argued that the process of "non-decision" making is more significant and should be carefully considered because non-decisions have more impact on the political style of the community than tangible decisions. Ziegler and Peak (1969) asserted that the process of "non-decision making" corresponds to "non-instruction" - that which

is not taught to American school students. The process of non-decision making in the community as well as the process of non-instruction in the schools allows only minor disputes and superficial controversy to become the subject of community conflict. Accordingly, the "mobilization of bias" - by which Bachrach and Baratz mean the perpetuation of values tending to favor the maintenance of the status quo - sets the boundaries within which conflict and controversy can take place. Rather than considering overt mobilization of bias by individuals intent on setting the limits of debate in, say, a community council, Ziegler and Peak suggest that it is better to consider social institutions that might serve the covert function of the mobilization of bias; as such, this is the real function of schools.

The process works this way. Consensus has substantial value for political elites, and if their positions of dominance and power are not challenged by opposing values, elites are relatively free to conduct the affairs of state without much difficulty. Conflict - which signifies the disenchantment of the majority - produces a more profound mobilization of bias which may shift from covert to overt. Pressures to cling to accepted interpretations of reality may appear faulty to the more intense participants of the conflict. The educational system, under such conditions, assumes part of the responsibility for the repudiation of fundamental criticism, partially because of the presence of

professional values which have achieved a high degree of stability within the educational system. As the conflict reaches a point where it challenges the basic assumptions of the community or society, the reaction of the educational system matches the challenge. Etzioni (1968) identified a "community of assumptions" which characterize any social unit. In advanced societies, a community of assumptions, once established, can be sustained for long periods of time without challenge. Individuals assume that the world really is as they see it; therefore, dissent is only tolerated within the boundaries established in the community of assumptions.

The Learning of Norms

Robert Dreeban (1968) of Harvard University described the contribution of schooling to the learning of four norms: independence, achievement, universalism, and specificity. The first two, independence and achievement, are consistent with the functional paradigm of schooling. Individuals have the duty to act by themselves and to accept personal responsibility for their conduct and accountability for its consequences. In addition there is an expectation or assumption that individuals will perform tasks actively and master the environment according to certain standards of excellence. The last two norms seem better suited to the aspects of the radical paradigm of schooling. Specificity refers to the scope of one person's interest in another - the obligation to confine one's interests to a narrow range of

characteristics and concerns - or to broaden them under other conditions. Furthermore, to say that children learn the norm of universalism means that they come to accept being treated by others as members of categories. In speaking of these four ideas as norms, Dreeban means that individuals accept them as legitimate standards for governing their own conduct in the appropriate situations. He based his argument on the observation that schools and the classrooms have a particular pattern of organization with unique characteristics, different from the other agencies where socialization takes place, and that what children learn can be attributed to the nature of their experiences in the school setting.

Political Purposes of Schooling

According to Spring (1978), the most important political goal of public schooling is the education of the future citizen. This statement means different things depending on the nature of the political organization in power. For example, the lessons learned from the experience of schools in Nazi Germany is that citizenship-training curriculums in public schools must be carefully evaluated. As such, citizenship training is not necessarily good. It is inexorably married to a general political philosophy.

There is widespread belief that socialization in the school is one of the most powerful means of political control (Spring, 1978). The fact of having an entire generation

within an institution where they are required to cooperate and obey rules can be considered as being preparation to cooperate and obey the rules of government as adults.

Economic Purposes of Schooling

Schooling has long been viewed as contributing to increased national wealth and advancing technological development. One way that this is accomplished is through the socialization of the future worker into the modern organizations of industry. This resembles the radical paradigm of schooling but without a critical connotation. It is asserted that the school which is the first formal public organization encountered by the child, provides the preparation and training needed to deal with other complex social organizations. Another way that schools are seen to help economic growth is through the sorting and training of the labor force; the identification of individual abilities and interests determines the best type of individual training and future employment (Spring, 1978).

An important study conducted in the early 1970's concluded that in large scale complex societies, no single attribute of a person better predicts attitudes, values, and behavior than the amount of schooling received by the individual (Inkeles and Smith, 1974). This relationship exists because of the school as a social organization as well as certain learning that is incidental to curriculum and formal instruction. This learning was identified as several

processes: "generalization, exemplification, reward and punishment, and modeling."

Generalization is best described as a sense of efficacy; children can advance their goals and believe in their own ability to learn new things that will increase their competence to control their environments.

Exemplification is the incorporation within individuals of a motivational practice or general rule of a social organization. Examples include the starting and stopping of schools at fixed times, the ordering of events within the school, and the planning of learning events. These situations incorporate in children a need for planning and maintaining a regular schedule; simply stated, teaching students to get to school on time is good preparation for getting to work on time.

Rewards, punishment and modeling were also considered as methods used to prepare students for social organizations. Students are punished for being late, not getting their work in on time, and for generally disobeying rules and regulations of the school. In modeling, the students imitate the teachers or other officials of the school and assumes many of their behavioral characteristics (Spring, 1978).

Social Purposes of Schooling

According to Spring (1978), the hope of improving society through public schooling has almost become an article of

American faith; for many Americans the school has become the symbol and hope for the good society - the hope that the moral influence of the school would reach out into the homes and neighborhoods of the nation. But a conflict revolves around the question, whose moral and social values will permeate the American school? More important, should the school be involved in attempts at social reform or improvement?

Because of its crucial position in the socialization process, education is intimately related to the broader political, economic and social system. It is the social institution which sorts out children and directs the flow of individuals into society and, as such, is a major determinate of who occupies which social strata (Heater, 1969).

Social Mobility

A prominent feature of American democracy is the upward social mobility of its people and their constant striving to improve (Engle and Ochoa, 1988). A substantial amount of upward mobility is evidence of the existence of opportunity. In addition, education is widely believed to help young people move up the social scale by preparing them for a higher status occupation than that of their parents. In a democratic society, there is bound to be much competition for the prized positions residing in the middle and upper classes of society. Children born into these classes have a definite advantage in this competition because in a system that cherishes equal opportunity, the prizes of such a competition turn out to be

advantages themselves and therefore negate any equality of opportunity. The functional paradigm of schooling (Hurn, 1978) views schooling as a contest where all participants start the race on equal footing. It is widely believed that democratic societies reward individuals on the basis of achievement or merit; hence, the functional model views society as "meritocratic." Such a society should display a good deal of upward social mobility for its young people. However, difficulties do block the path of upward mobility for children of lower-status families and for children of some minority groups (Levine & Havighurst, 1989). The roles of schools in promoting social and economic mobility was perhaps best summed up by Nathan Glazer, the Harvard sociologist. Glazer observed that the contribution of education to social mobility is still of the old kind. It gives opportunity and makes a difference for those with special ability, but it does not do so for everyone (Fiske, 1975).

Contest and Sponsored Upward Mobility (Turner, 1961)

A central assumption exists in that within a formally open class system providing mass education, the organizing folk-norm that defines the accepted mode of upward social mobility is a crucial factor in shaping the school system and its curricula. The two ideal normative patterns of upward social mobility are contest and sponsored mobility.

Under sponsored mobility, elite recruits are chosen by the established elites, and elite status is granted on the basis of merit. On the other hand, contest mobility is a system where elite status serves as the prize or reward in open competition to be taken by work and effort. Since the prize of successful upward social mobility is not in the hands of elites to hand out, they have no control as to the determination of who shall attain it and who shall not.

Under the sponsored mode, upward mobility is like entry into a private club where the candidate must be sponsored by one or more of the members. Eventually, the members grant or deny upward mobility on the basis of whether or not they judge the candidate to have the qualities they wish to see in their fellow members.

As organizing folk-norms, these principles are assumed to be present in people's thinking, guiding their judgments and decisions and are reflected in specific value judgments.

Major Distinctions

Contest mobility can be compared to a sporting event where many compete for a few prizes. The contest is judged to be fair only if all players compete on equal footing. The most satisfactory outcome is not necessarily a victory for the most able, but of the most deserving. Enterprise, initiative, perseverance, craft, and clever manipulation of the rules are admirable qualities. Applied to mobility, this means that victory achieved by a person of moderate intelligence

accomplished through the use of common sense, craft, enterprise, daring, and successful risk taking is more valued than victory of the most intelligent or best educated.

Sponsored mobility, on the other hand, rejects the notion of a contest and substitutes a controlled selection process. In this process, the elites or their agents who are best qualified to judge merit and call individuals to elite status who have appropriate qualities. Individuals, then, do not win or seize elite status, but mobility is rather a process of sponsored induction.

Under the contest system, society establishes and interprets the criteria of elite status. If persons wish to have their high status recognized, they must display certain credentials that identify his or her class to others. These credentials must be highly visible and require no special skill for their assessment by the masses. In this respect, material possession and mass popularity are perfect credentials. Under the sponsored system, credentials are assigned the task of identifying elites to one another; the ideal credentials, then, would be intellectual, literary, or artistic excellence - which can only be appraised by those trained to appreciate them.

Under contest mobility, the "game" is not over until it has run its full course; indeed, the system incorporates this fear of premature judgment and of anything else that would give special advantage to those who are ahead in the race.

Sponsored mobility, on the other hand, demands fairly early selection, filling the anticipated vacancies available. Early selection allows enough time to prepare recruits for their elite positions. Aptitudes, inherent abilities, and spiritual gifts can be assessed relatively early in life through the use of sophisticated techniques. Contest mobility tends to delay the final award as long as practicable to permit a fair race; sponsored mobility tends to place the selection point as early in life as possible to insure control over selection and training.

Social Control and the Two Norms

The most conspicuous control problem is that of ensuring loyalty in the disadvantaged classes toward a system under which they receive less than a proportional share of society's resources. Under the system of contest mobility, this is accomplished by a combination of future orientation, the universal norm of ambition, and a general sense of fellow feeling with the elite. All are encouraged to think of themselves as competing for elite positions. Therefore in preparation, loyalty to the system is cultivated. To forestall rebellion among the disadvantaged majority, a contest system must at all costs avoid any absolute points of selection for mobility or immobility and must delay clear recognition of the realities of the situation until the

individual is too committed to the system to change it radically.

This control system is inappropriate for the sponsored model since elite recruits are chosen from above. Control under the sponsored model is maintained by training the masses to regard themselves as relatively incompetent to manage society by cultivating a belief in the superior competence of the elites. This point was observed by Tocqueville (1956, p. 303) who described "the immense and tutelary power (which) would be like the authority of a parent if, like that authority, its object was to prepare men for manhood; but it seeks, on the contrary, to keep them in perpetual childhood to spare them all the care of thinking and all the trouble of living." The earlier the selection of elite recruits can be made, the sooner the masses can be taught to accept their inferiority and to make realistic rather than fantasy plans. Similarly, a sense of mystery about the elite is a common device used to support the illusion among the masses of a much greater gap than actually exists. Certain general values and norms of any society incorporate emulation of elite values by the masses. Consequently, under sponsored mobility a good deal of the attitudes and interests in classical subjects filters down to the masses. Under contest mobility, there is not an identification with moral, aesthetic, and intellectual values to be emulated. The conspicuous attribute of the elite in

contest mobility is their superior material consumption; as such, emulation follows this course.

Formal Education Under the Two Models

An assumption is that the two norms of upward social mobility are prevalent in a society, although one will be ascendent. Hence, there will be a constant strain to shape the educational system into conformity with that norm. These strains operate in two manners: blinding the masses to alternatives and coloring their judgments about what is successful and what is not, and influencing the relationship between schooling and other aspects of the social system, class structure, and systems of social control.

The value placed on education is different under the two organizing norms. Under sponsored mobility, schooling is valued for its cultivation of the elite culture. Conversely, under contest mobility, education is valued as a means of getting ahead. In context mobility, the content of education itself is not highly valued in its own right. Over one hundred and fifty years ago, Tocqueville (1956) commented on the absence of an hereditary class "by which the labors of the intellect are held in honor." Consequently, he remarked, "a middling standard is fixed in America for human knowledge."

The logic of preparation for a contest emphasizes keeping everybody in the running until the final stages. In primary and secondary schools the assumption tends to be made that those who are learning satisfactorily need little special

attention while the less successful require help to insure that they remain in the contest.

Systems of mobility stimulate different emphases regarding educational content. Induction into elite culture under sponsorship stresses school spirit and formal schooling involves highly specialized study in fields of intellectual and aesthetic training. Under contest mobility, education, in spite of the liberal education philosophy prevalent in American schools, tends to become vocational and is as practical as possible.

Social adjustment training is peculiar to the system of contest mobility. Adjustment training is preparation to cope with situations in which there are no rules of intercourse or they are not known. Under sponsored mobility, elite recruits are inducted into a stratum in which there is a consensus regarding the rules. Under contest mobility, the elite recruits must relate themselves both to the established elite and to the masses who follow different rules. Consequently, adjustment training becomes one of the important skills imparted by the school system. It is suggested, then, that while the sponsored model is better preparation in an orderly and controlled world, the contest mode is better suited to a less orderly situation.

It appears from my research that both models of upward social mobility are present in American schools. their visibility, however, is not readily apparent, but generally

speaking, it can be surmised that differences occur according to socio-economic and geographical factors. Certainly, for the brightest and ablest, a form of sponsored mobility provides avenues for upward movement, but for the rest - the masses of children belonging to the lower classes - a mediocre form of contest mobility exists. A few experience upward movement, but the remainder are left to jockey for a variety of assembly line jobs in industry and the like.

The reason for the failure is quite simple, according to Fiske (1975). Because education is so central to American society, the political, economic, and social forces that shape society as a whole have been closely reflected in the schools. As such, educational institutions reflect the community of which they are a part; thus, they can never get too far ahead of it.

"I often think it's comical,
How nature always does contrive
That every boy and every gal
That's born into the world alive,
Is either a little Liberal,
Or else a little Conservative."

- W. S. Gilbert
"Iolanthe" (1892)

Chapter III. Political Socialization and the Student

Chapter I described and analyzed the different environments affecting schooling in America and the process of political socialization. Chapter II examined political socialization and schooling with regard to the functions and purposes in a class society. Chapter III will focus on the student and political socialization as well as general considerations relevant to the subject.

Myth and Ideology

What is the myth and ideology of political socialization in American schools? I suggest that the answer is to be found in the irreconcilable tensions created by the conflicting forces of a democratic image of society with freedom and equality, and a capitalistic economic order with an authoritarian power structure. As such, the term, "democratic capitalism" is an oxymoron as the first term implies a society based on equality while the last term signifies an economic order based on inequality. Figure 3 contrasts consequences of personal developmental characteristics and traits under the Democratic Learning Model and the Authoritarian Bureaucratic Model.

Levin (1990) argued that societies that are both democratic and capitalist require citizens who can function under both democratic and authoritarian power structures. The democratic requirements are based on the needs of political institutions of such societies and the authoritarian

TRAITS/ CHARACTERISTICS	LEARNING MODEL (1) (Democratic)	BUREAUCRATIC MODEL (2) (Authoritarian)
Relationship of things learned	Interrelated	Separated/ specialized

Personal orientation:		
Students	Personal, "Whole person" Uniqueness	Mass basis, Uniformity, Formalized
Teachers	Personal, Affective	Impersonal, Objective

Age	Heterogeneous	Homogeneous

Time	Task completion, "Tasks rule time"	Highly structured, Class periods

Learning	Qualitative	Quantitative

Personal Development	Growth, Actualization, Divergent learning	"Training" Predictability, Covergent learning

- (1) The Learning Model is based on the educational philosophy of Dewey and others.
- (2) The Bureaucratic Model is based on the theories of Bowles and Gintis and others.

Figure 3. "Comparing outcomes of developmental characteristics and personal traits under the "Learning" and "Bureaucratic" models of schooling."

requirements are anchored in the demands of the economic order, but Lasch (1991) insisted that democracy's child - welfare liberalism - and laissez-faire capitalism represent misguided philosophies that fail to understand how the impersonal, bureaucratic institutions of society have destroyed a sense of community.

Community Power

A destroyed sense of community, apathy, and alienation have been topics of academic research and discussion for much of this century. A key to explaining this irony of democracy is found in the study of community power conducted in New Haven, Connecticut by Robert Dahl and his associates between the years 1957 and 1959. Among the findings of the extensive study was the revelation that most citizens were not interested in political affairs. In addition, they went their separate ways and were contented to be simply members of the community. Dahl called this large majority of New Haven, "homo civicus."

But there were a relatively few members of the community who developed an abiding interest in political matters. They frequently discussed politics, read newspapers closely, and perhaps joined political clubs. They attended meetings frequently, and even campaigned actively. Such individuals were not merely passive members of the community; rather, they were alert, participating people of public affairs. Dahl

referred to this small minority of the community as "homo politicus."

Dahl suggested that in keeping with the two types of political individuals the community should be viewed as having two strata. The lower stratum, made up of the vast majority of New Haven's residents, was called the "apolitical strata" comprised of "homo civicus." The upper level was the "political stratum" made up of a relatively few individuals who staffed the political parties, pressure groups, civic associations, neighborhood improvement committees and other political organizations including community school boards and parent-teacher associations. As such, Dahl's findings are in close congruence with Michel's Iron Law of Oligarchy (Ricci, 1971).

Psychic Equivalence of Social Facts

Wilhelm Wundt emphasized the "psychic equivalence of social facts" (Simpson, 1971). Accordingly, democratic values and behavior are dependent on a personality which must be receptive to the important and salient values when they are taught. In other words, for a child to become a democrat, that child must be capable of living a life as a democrat and able to utilize what is learned; furthermore, three conditions must be met for the emergence of democratic attitudes and behavior: the gratification of basic needs, an immediate environment to learn and practice, and a democratic social structure that encourages expression.

Weissberg (1974) asserted that citizens are not born with existing political arrangements in their genes; political dispositions are learned, and this learning is the process of political socialization. In addition, the politically innocent child will accept almost any political system, loyalty, and method for settling disputes as reasonable and legitimate, but by adulthood, the vast majority of these possibilities are rejected as undesirable or impossible.

The Socialization Process

Barner-Barry and Rosenwein (1985) maintain that both students of political behavior and interested lay-persons generally agree that the origins of the impetus to political involvement lie in the formative years of childhood. But the scholarly community offers very few definitive answers about why most people develop the relationships to the political system that they do. Researchers focus on three basic ways in which the socialization process operates. First, the social-learning perspective emphasizes the messages which the individual receives from the outside world. Second, the psychodynamic approach places great significance on a child's reactions to early childhood experiences and the importance of unconscious forces. Finally, the cognitive developmental perspective focuses on the maturation process and the effect it has on the ability of the individual to understand and act in the political system.

Political Socialization and Personality

The close relationship between political socialization and personality cannot be overestimated. Adler (1959) offered a socially-based theory of personality that is consistent with the development of political attitudes and behavior. Personality develops, in part, out of tension between the individual's striving towards an amorphous teleological blueprint of the future on the one hand and feelings of inadequacy or inferiority on the other. According to Brandhorst (Ichilov, 1990), one of the principle forces driving human behavior is the need to feel in control; this need is called "efficacy" by political researchers. Furthermore, a distinction is drawn between primary versus secondary control. In primary control the individual experiences satisfaction by imposing a change on the physical or social environment. In secondary control, the individual experiences satisfaction by choosing to exercise control over the self. American cultural values have traditionally emphasized primary control - that is, exercising immediate gratification by changing the world rather than imposing self-control. Consequently, social problems of epidemic proportions among adolescents document the operation of such a value system. Currently, the major problems facing public schools include drug abuse, teenage pregnancy, adolescent lack of self discipline for assuming responsibility for one's actions, and physical violence. All of these can be explained

in terms of an incapacity of young people to exercise effective secondary or self-control.

At some time during the formative years, an aspect of the political personality emerges which is crucial to the process of political socialization - the democratic or the authoritarian personality (Abcarian, 1973). The authoritarian personality is characterized by such traits as a high value of orthodoxy, strict obedience to authority, and a tendency to see persons, events, and problems in relatively simple dichotomies of good and evil or right and wrong. On the other hand, the democratic personality is associated with individuals who feel socially efficacious and who are able to control or sublimate certain personal impulses. Such individuals are said to possess a democratic personality because they can place a greater trust in others, can tolerate social diversity, and need not be especially hostile to political ambiguity, conflict and dissent. The authoritarian pattern of political behavior is characteristic principally of those who are unsure of themselves and who have never succeeded in building up and stabilizing their own personality. A number of studies have established variations in democratic/authoritarian tendencies among sub-groups of adults. The most notable finding is that the less educated and lower classes in American society are more authoritarian (Hyman, 1959).

Open and Closed Belief Systems

An important variable in the process of political socialization was described by Rokeach and Restle (Abcarian, 1973) who distinguished between open and closed belief systems. Accordingly, a basic characteristic that defines the extent to which a person's system is open or closed is the extent to which that person can receive, evaluate, and act on relevant information received from the outside on its own intrinsic merits, unencumbered by irrelevant factors. In other words, the more open an individual's belief system is, the more that person will be able to adequately evaluate both the relevant and irrelevant information of any given situation. Conversely, the more closed the belief system, the more difficult it will be to distinguish between information received about the situation and information received about the source of the information. A person will be open to information insofar as possible and will reject it, screen it out, or alter it insofar as necessary. As such, it is possible to distance the world and narrow it down to whatever extent necessary, but at the same time preserve the illusion of understanding it.

If the closed or dogmatic mind is extremely resistant to change, it may be not only because it allays anxiety of the unknown but also because it satisfies the need to know.

If threat leads to dogmatism in individuals, by the same token it should also lead to dogma in institutions. In

addition, dogma serves the purpose of ensuring the continued existence of the institution and the belief-disbelief system for which it stands. Consequently, closed belief-disbelief systems provide a systematic cognitive framework for rationalizing and justifying egocentric, self-righteousness and the moral condemnation of others.

Learned Helplessness

In the late 1960's, Martin Seligman working in the field of clinical psychology conceptualized what has become known as "learned helplessness," a term that is critical to the understanding of political socialization. For a variety of social and psychological reasons, individuals learn to believe that they are incapable of controlling their lives; furthermore, independent forces beyond their control bring about an inability to control circumstances, resulting in a lack of self efficacy (Overmeir & Seligman, 1967; Seligman & Maier, 1967). In addition, in a series of studies, Dweck and her associates found that children who have learned to feel helpless when confronted with difficult problems tend to attribute their failure to inability (Henderson, 1980). Such an aversion to learning may, in the school context, be interpreted as alienation.

Much of learned helplessness can be linked to the process of political socialization. Tocqueville observed that with such a strong centralized government, Americans have become dependent and rely upon it for solving almost every problem

that arises - even individual ones. As a result, this passive dependence results in a tendency for individuals to retreat even further into attitudes of carelessness and alienation toward the political process (Heffner, 1955).

Moral Judgment Stages

Kohlberg and Selman (Wood, 1982) argued that political behavior is heavily influenced by moral judgment. James West (Mussen, Volume III, 1983) explained that psychologists have used a variety of criteria as indicators of a person's morality: (1) behavior that helps another human being, (2) behavior in conformity with societal norms, (3) the internalization of social norms, (4) the arousal of empathy or guilt, or both, (5) reasoning about justice, and (6) putting another's interests ahead of one's own. Kohlberg proposed in his development theory of moral judgment stages that each stage in the sequence is progressively more differentiated and integrated; with development, each new stage employs cognitive operations that are more reversible and equilibrated, and with development, each stage has a more encompassing perspective on society. A recent general outline of Kohlberg's stages employ three levels, each with two stages.

Stage one consists of punishment and obedience training to counter the early egocentric point of view of the child. The development of individualism marks the second stage. The

child discovers the right action consists of those things which satisfy their own needs and occasionally the needs of others. Stage three is attained when there is a perspective of the individual with others; good behavior is that which pleases or helps others and is approved by them. Stage four is the "law and order" orientation. The fifth stage has utilitarian perspective. Right action tends to be defined in terms of standards that have been agreed upon by the whole society and is labeled the "social-contract legalistic orientation." Finally, stage six is the "Universal ethical-principal orientation" where right is defined as "decisions of conscience," and consists of abstract and ethical principles (Renshon, 1977, p. 338).

Agents of Political Socialization

Beck (Renshon, 1977) noted that one of the principal topics of political socialization research has been the role of the agent of socialization. Furthermore, much of the attention is focused on the three agents of parents, schools, and peers. (It appears as though the "mass media" as an agent of political socialization has only received well-deserved attention in recent years). The major source of empirical evidence concerning the relative impact of various agents on political views is the 1965 national survey of high school seniors, their parents, peers, and social studies teachers conducted by Jennings and Niemi (1974). They compared the influence of parents and teachers by contrasting parent-child

and teacher-child correlations. The results showed that parents exert far more influence than teachers. The influence of friends compares even more favorably than that of parents especially in the area of political efficacy where the student-friend correlations exceeded those of student and parent (Sebert, Jennings, and Niemi, 1974).

According to Beck, there are no other agents which can compete with the parents in their impact on a wide variety of political orientations. Peer groups appear to come the closest to matching parental potency; furthermore, their influence appears to grow as the individual matures (Renshon, 1977).

Schools as Agents

Schools appear to occupy a favorable position as a principal agent of political socialization. Except for the pre-school years, the school rivals the parents in the exposure to children; as such, American children spend a substantial portion of their waking hours in schools (Renshon, 1977).

However, schools have not been accorded a very prominent role in political socialization research. This has been due to the dominance of the parental privacy model on the one hand and methodological difficulties on the other. That the parents and family are the principal agent of political socialization for the child cannot be disputed. Furthermore,

all children attend school; therefore, the reliable statistical technique of comparing control and experimental groups is inoperative (Renshon, 1977).

Research on formal instruction, curriculum, textbooks, and routines are unlikely to vary significantly from school to school. In addition, no empirical studies attempt to assess the full impact on formal instruction and school routines; however, in a study of high school civics courses in three Boston communities, Litt (1963) compared political attitudes of students before they took a civics course with their attitudes after the course. The results were significant. Civics course graduates in all three communities were more likely to endorse the democratic creed and less likely to be politically chauvinistic than they had been before the course. But in terms of attitudes toward political participation and group conflict, as well as cognitions of the political process, the expected changes were found in only upper-middle class communities (Renshon, 1977). This seems to support research concluding that sociological factors, such as sex, level of intelligence, and socioeconomic status, as well as psycho-dynamic and maturational factors, appear to affect the content of political socialization. Dawson and Prewitt (1969) suggest that political learning experiences in the upper and lower social classes may be as different as between two nations.

According to Simpson (1971), family school and work are all involved in patterns of non political activity which influence political attitudes. Almond and Verba (1963) believe that the impact of these three elements of participation training and decision making is cumulative with family, school, and work in rank order of importance. Lipsett (1959) described education as the single most important variable for the determination of democratic character. Moreover, Hess and Torney (1967) concluded that the effectiveness of the elementary school as an agent of political socialization has been underestimated. In the schools today there is a conscious emphasis on the cognitive acquisition of information about the political system - political education, but the affective development which underlies the value systems supporting a total view of political involvement has been sorely neglected (Dawson, 1966).

Weissberg (1974) explored the links between early political learning and political life to understand how some, not other, political alternatives become nonissues in the minds of Americans. The focus was early political socialization in support of democracy. It is fairly obvious that the willingness of the powerful to go along with democratic practices is crucial to political and social control; power is always distributed unevenly in society;

vigorously supported democratic values serve as solid foundations of myth.

Most citizens regardless of economic status endorse democracy in the abstract, but far less support exists for specific applications of democratic principles, with working class citizens belonging to the lower classes always the least supportive. The data for racial differences are similar. Among both whites and blacks, support for democratic values declines sharply in moving from the abstract to specific applications. Again, it is the irony of democracy that those having the most to gain from democratic values are not the greatest supporters of those values (Weissberg, 1974).

A comparison of civics course graduates and nongraduates was undertaken by Langton and Jennings (Langton, 1969) and Jennings, Langton, and Niemi (Jennings and Niemi, 1974) for a national sample of high school seniors. Across a wide variety of political orientations, only negligible differences were found between the two groups. But the opposite picture appeared when blacks alone were examined. Black students who had completed the civics course displayed greater political knowledge, political efficiency, and political tolerance indicating that the content of high school civics courses may be more meaningful for blacks than whites. Similar findings are reported by Ehman (1969) of the effects of the social studies curriculum in Detroit schools and by Merelman (1971) who studied the impact of school quality in Los Angeles.

Some attention has been paid to the impact of teachers as individuals influencing the political socialization of the child. The most persuasive statement for substantial teacher influence was made by Hess and Torney (1967) who concluded from this focus that the public school appears to be the most important and effective instrument of political socialization in the United States (p. 101). But according to Beck the evidence does not warrant their conclusion because of methodological concerns (Renshon, 1974). A more recent and methodologically sound exploration of teacher impact was conducted by Jennings, Ehman, and Niemi (1974) who compared the political views of individual high school seniors and their social studies teachers. The findings of the study cast considerable doubt on the conclusion reached by Hess and Torney; accordingly, without any convincing evidence of teacher impact, it cannot be said that the teacher plays an important role in political socialization.

In comparing the school as an agent of political socialization with other agents, Beck (Renshon, 1977) concluded that research has failed to show that the school has much influence on the political learning of students. Rather, it appears to be a source of complementary socialization for most Americans.

The one aspect of the educational system that appears to have a significant impact on political socialization is involvement in extracurricular activities (Beck and Jennings, 1982). The influence seems to be related to the experience

gained and the activist style that a young person can develop and carry into the adult world (Barner-Barry and Rosenwein, 1985). This would seem to support the assertion that extracurricular activities prepare children to assume participative roles in adulthood.

The Culture of the School

Education in school, compared with that of the family and the peer group is carried on in relatively formal ways. Groupings were formed according to age, aptitudes, and sometimes sex. Students are tested and evaluated throughout their school years. In addition, most of the time, students are told when to sit, where to sit, when to stand, and how to walk through hallways among other directives. Moreover, school assemblies, athletic events, and graduation ceremonies as well as the school insignia, songs, and cheers - all enhance the culture of the school and contribute to the socialization of the student (Ornstein and Levine, 1989).

Research on classroom management indicates that effective teachers utilize a variety of techniques to develop productive discipline and to motivate students. According to Glatthorn (1987) the classroom is a crowded place where issues of control often become dominant. Control is achieved through the differential use of power; the teacher uses several kinds to control the selection of content, the methods of learning, movement in the classroom, and the flow of classroom discourse. Control is also achieved through the skillful use

of accountability measures; as such, teachers spend much time evaluating. Students unconsciously learn the skills and traits required by the larger society; for example, they learn to be punctual, clean, docile, and conforming as well as learn to stand in line, take their turns and wait. Such techniques can be classified either "hard control" or "soft control." Figure 4 compares the characteristics of hard and soft control as socializing influences in the classroom.

Hard controls are associated with the formal curriculum and consist of highly visible rules, regulations, codes, uniformity, and strict routines while soft controls are associated with the less visible "hidden curriculum."

The Hidden Curriculum

The hidden curriculum, sometimes called the "unstudied" or "implicit" curriculum, generally refers to the characteristics of school life other than the formal curriculum to which students are exposed. It is not commonly mentioned by students and is not apparent to the casual observer, but its effects are very real. Many of the influences and attitudes discussed previously in this paper are felt by students through the hidden curriculum. The salience of the hidden curriculum cannot be emphasized enough. Kohlberg (Giroux and Purpel, 1983) remarked that the hidden curriculum refers to 90 percent of what goes on in classrooms. To simplify the definition even more, Jackson (Giroux and

TYPE OF CONTROL	
HARD CONTROL	SOFT CONTROL
Tracking, Formal curriculum	Hidden curriculum
Dress codes, Mandatory attendance	Attitude shaping, Teacher bias, Expectations, Favoritism
Highly managed interaction	Variations in teaching methods
Autocratic structure	Uneven discipline, peer pressure for conformity
Guidance, Responsibility, Accountability	Path to success becomes a compulsion
Classroom roles: form and content	Patience, resignation, "Quiet desperation"
Uniformity, Strict routines	Blind obedience, Unquestioning attitudes Illusion of choice, myth of equal opportunity

CHARACTERISTICS OF SCHOOLS

Figure 4. "Socializing Characteristics of School Control: the Culture of the Classroom."

Purpel, 1983) maintains that the characteristics of the hidden curriculum comprise three facts of life with which every student must learn to deal with: crowds, praise, power (Surely from this description, it is apparent that the hidden curriculum is intrinsically related to the process of political socialization.) The hidden curriculum is rarely talked about by students and teachers; its semi-private nature is essential to its existence. Consequently, the more it becomes public, the more it becomes part of the formal curriculum (Jackson, 1968).

The hidden curriculum is viewed as both constant and variable aspects of schooling, other than the formal curriculum, that produces changes in attitudes, feelings, and behavior in students. The constants - the ideology of the larger society, the way in which certain knowledge is deemed important or unimportant ("issues versus non issues") and the power relationships that seem necessary in large bureaucratic institutions appear impervious to change.

In particular, according to Patrick (Renshon, 1977) the hidden curriculum has an effect on students' views of power and authority. Indeed, the school environment represents the first and the most crucial form of external authority with which they have direct experience. Hess and Torney (1967) reported in their study of the political learning of children in grades one through eight that the educational climates of the school and the classroom in America tend to be closed. In

addition, they reported that teachers were inclined to focus upon the importance of authority, obedience to law, and conformity to the rules and regulations of the school. Moreover, teachers tended to disregard the importance of active participation. Political duties, obligations and responsibilities were stressed while the rights and powers of citizens were underemphasized. In support of their argument Hess and Torney concluded that instructional materials which foster a passive learning style and lower-level cognition such as the textbooks of traditional political educators tend to fit the rather closed educational climates found in most schools. Boocock's review of the research about the sociology of learning (1972, p. 5) indicated that "the conventional classroom role structure is not conducive to active involvement of most students in the learning process."

The hidden curriculum comes even more sharply into focus in considering the network of rules and regulations governing the student's social conduct; as such, the school has created a system that serves a protective function: permitting a minimum amount of risk taking and protecting the maintenance of the status quo. This kind of double system occurs throughout society and its institutions. What is crucial is not the presence of formal rules and informal responses, but rather the kinds of dissonance that are created by the distance between the two (Jackson, 1968).

*"Relationships Among Models of Schooling,
Political Power Structure, Prevailing
Method of Upward Social Mobility,
Belief System, Focus of Curriculum
and View of Rationality"*

Model of Schooling (1) Political Power (2) Structure	Prevailing Method of Upward Social Mobility (3)	Belief System (4)	Focus of Curriculum (5) View of Rationality (6)
Functional View Democratic	Contest Mode	Open	Countersocialization "Myth and Ideology" based on Substantial Rationality
Radical View Authoritarian	Sponsored Mode	Closed	Socialization "Myth" based on Functional Rationality

- (1) Hurn, 1978
(2) Devey, 1922
(3) Turner, 1961

- (4) Rokeach & Restle (Abcarian, 1973)
(5) Engle & Ochoa, 1988
(6) Mannheim, 1940

Summary

Figure 5 illustrates the relationships among the functional (meritocratic) and radical models of schooling, democratic and authoritarian structures of political power, contest and sponsored modes of upward social mobility, open and closed belief systems, focuses of curriculum, and functional and substantial views of rationality.

The functional or meritocratic model of schooling is more likely to be democratic in character, utilize a "contest" form of upward social mobility, promote an open belief system as well as a substantial view of rationality, and incorporate the teaching of critical thinking skills for the operation of an "expert" society.

Conversely, the radical paradigm of schooling is more likely to be authoritarian in nature, utilize a "sponsored" mode of upward social mobility to select students for elite status, promote a closed or dogmatic belief system as well as a functional view of rationality, and limit or curtail critical thinking to a point where socialization resembles indoctrination.

Conclusion

According to Glatthorn (1987) schools in the United States inevitably reflect the ideology of democratic capitalism; furthermore, Anyon (1981) provided detailed evidence to confirm that school knowledge is an important aspect of the reproduction of unequal class structures. Accordingly, schools are hierarchically structured and characterized by domination; indeed, students expect to be dominated. Also, teachers expect poor behavior and lack of ability. Essentially, then, students are being socialized into submission.

There is a pattern that links social class, curriculum, pedagogy, and the social relations of the school; as such, working class students are presented with a simplified but extreme version of the dominant ideology while students who are destined to enter the professional and ruling classes are provided with the most critical educational experiences (Fisher, 1988).

Part of the school's importance as an agent of socialization lies in the fact that it is a microcosm of the larger social system; therefore, it stands as an effective model for the success or failure of democracy (Simpson, 1971). Moreover, Campbell (1988) asserted that it is a fundamental principle of democracy that all members of society are capable of reason.

But myths of various kinds can be barriers to reasoning and conflict resolution, thus contributing to political alienation. One important myth is that of conformity - the notion that individual happiness and social harmony are the product of the subordination of personal desires and needs to group ideals or norms. Then there is the myth of democracy itself: a distorted image around which gathers a large body of misleading and self-deceiving attitudes. These attitudes purport to describe the principles and practices of democracy, but in reality, they constitute a body of rationalizations, prejudices, and unconscious deceptions (Abcarian, 1973). The nature of the myth is to secure allegiance. Furthermore, myths serve the social function of validation and justification, but the cynical view labels them as "royal lies," devised by governments as propaganda for making people submissive (Hutchison, 1957).

In a democratic society the schools must constantly exist in tension with the power that be. They must confirm the order in which they exist, yet they must criticize it. Like

churches and the press, they cannot go too far or society will stifle them one way or another (Fiske, 1975).

The limited nature of political decision making stresses the biases in any given status quo. In addition, any set of government arrangements benefits some people more than others, and those who benefit the most are not likely to encourage serious discussions of radical alternatives - likewise, such people typically have great political influence. Furthermore, the non-consideration of all possible alternatives is largely due to citizens accepting the status quo as politically natural and thus beyond serious change (Weissberg, 1974).

Members of the educational field, bombarded by radical analyses which argue that all schools can ever do is reproduce inequality have chosen to ignore the criticism. In fact, most are conservative and seem to have appropriated for themselves a belief in the equality of opportunity myth (Wood, 1982).

Clearly, public education in America is a political process; attempts to remove it from the political arena are being designed to favor the interests of those currently enjoying political privilege (Wood, 1982), however, according to Ember and Ember (1973) there is a natural evolutionary trend toward greater inequality; post-war America's middle class is in a continual condition of dependency and resembles the classes of peasants and proletarians of earlier times (Hutchison, 1957).

America was settled mostly by people who valued their own economic welfare more than their communities; the society encourages selfishness and even greed. People are expected to be interested primarily in their own private needs with little concern for community needs (Slater, 1980). Getting ahead is seen as the essence and meaning of life. The community becomes the means by which persons can get what they want rather than the ground in which the basic principles of individualism and capitalism must be rooted (Lynch, 1987).

All of the strivings for personal wealth, possessions, power, and fame are expressions of misguided "individualism" - a belief system that denies that human beings are interdependent and influence each other with every action they take. It is one of the strongest, most pervasive myths in America (Slater, 1980). Moreover, the community no longer poses limits on individuals' rights and uses of capital. In many ways, these autonomous individuals ravage the life and vitality of the community. Impersonalism characterizes relationships with people; amassing profit has become the hallmark of success (Lynch, 1987). If this persists, according to Laszio (1979) America will drive itself toward increasing alienation, depersonalization, social and economic breakdowns, environmental and resource depletion, and worsening isolation in the world community.

According to Bell (1978) social scientists in the areas of education, welfare, and social planning have admitted that

the problem is much more complex than they originally thought; as such, democratic liberalism has failed. This failure is, in part, a failure of knowledge - a source of intellectual disarray and grave concern in the realization that a large complex society operating with a future orientation demands social planning in order to meet the onrush of social change.

Richard Lamm, former Colorado governor and head of the University of Denver's Center for Public Policy and Contemporary Issues asserted that the reason for America's plight is an uncompetitive society. Moreover serious efforts to come to grips with the difficult, emotionally charged issues like health care, educational and welfare reform, crime, illiteracy, drug addiction, teenage pregnancy, and other symptoms of social deterioration that make America uncompetitive are almost nonexistent (1988).

But competition requires cooperation first and foremost and this, I believe is the key to positive social change. Educators need to look at alternative ways of teaching so that students learn community, cooperation, and non-aggression; for instance, grading children on how they help other students in the class. Such an activity can only take place in an environment of cooperation (Lynch, 1987).

According to James Macdonald (Giroux and Purpel, 1983) what we must do, if we are concerned about these matters, is to become somewhat more humble, but continue to work for what we believe is right. We must, as Erich Fromm said, keep up

our hope, which he defined as the willingness to keep working for what we believe in with the full realization that we may never see it come to fruition in our lifetime.

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